2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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St. Martin club – that the St. Roque club was not planning to participate in the ceremony in protest against the way they had been treated during the centenary. Dun Frangisk's spontaneous move upset their plans.

Although Dun Frangisk favoured the suggestions that the clubs draw lots, or hire outside bands, St. Martin rejected both because they implied that the clubs had equal status. The last time the St. Roque band had played was six years and four parish priests before, when the local police inspector had devised a compromise solution, and the St. Martin leaders had 'allowed' St. Roque to play the last march of the day, while their band escorted the new priest home. They believed any concession they made now would undo the advantage which they felt they had gained as the only functioning band in the village during the past six years.

Thus it came about that no band played at Dun Frangisk's installation ceremony. This greatly surprised the many visitors from the city and the suburbs, but the good people of the district found it quite in accordance with the way things should be, considering the issues involved. At no point in the series of events were the feelings of the young priest, whom all liked, ever considered. His installation had become the vehicle for a clash between the followers of St. Martin and St. Roque. They had been vying with each other for supremacy long before he was born, and would be at it long after he left. Any concessions made for his sake would have to be entered into the eighty-year-old ledger of credits and debits, and might have an important bearing on the outcome of the next series of encounters.

III

Two interesting problems remain to be considered: why festa partiti arose during the fifty years or so after 1850, and what reasons prompted people to join one partit rather than its rival. The factors which caused the partiti to come into existence at this particular period in Maltese history are necessarily complex, and they are dimmed by the time that has elapsed since their foundation. Nonetheless, one can discern several elements which would appear to be related to the general problem. To begin with, during this period there was a sudden increase in the devotion to the Virgin Mary following her apparition in 1858 at Lourdes, and the

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints, including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs, especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in 1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages. They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890, 'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city without three or five.'[3]

The latter half of the last century was a period of relative economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War; the sharp expansion in government spending on public works programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations, fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands. Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands

PAUL CASSAR

THE MALTESE GROUP OF ISLANDS—Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunet and Filfla—cover an area of just over 120 square miles. They form a stepping-stone between Europe and Africa, being fifty-eight miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles away from the North African shore. Malta and Gozo are renowned for the number of Stone Age temples they contain. Archaeologists have expressed the opinion that some of the enclosures of these temples were sacred to a healing deity (Zammit 1926, p. 53). This is suggested by the discovery of clay and limestone objects consisting of (1) two models of women lying asleep on a kind of stretcher of wicker work, and (2) several votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body (Zammit & Singer 1924, pp. 75–6).

It is believed that the sleeping ladies represent devotees who went to the Hypogeum temple at Hal Saflieni, near Pawla, to consult the oracle through the practice of oneiromancy. This was a form of dream interpretation after the patient had been aroused from a hypnotic state induced deliberately by means of drugs or other means (Zammit 1935, p. 58). In ancient Egypt dreams were regarded with reverence and the faithful believed that their prayers were rewarded by the gods with an indication, in their dreams, of the remedies which their illness required (Wilkinson 1837, III, p. 394). Similar practices prevailed also in the temple-hospitals of classical Greece where the patient is said to have had the line of treatment revealed to him in his sleep (Pavey 1931, p. 59). It is, therefore, quite possible that such methods were likewise followed in Malta by the Hypogeum priests in the treatment of disease about 1500 B.C. Whatever might have happened in Malta in neolithic days, it is very striking to come across similar parallels in modern times where sick persons claim to have been healed by a heavenly power while in the sleeping state.

The following cases were recorded in 1890, the first being the most interesting as the patient fell asleep in the church itself:

(i) A woman had been subject to a purulent inflammation of the mouth for fifteen years. She had recourse to the Virgin Mary and while praying at Ta Pinu church (Gharb, Gozo) she was overtaken by extreme somnolence. She woke up with the conviction that the Madonna had granted her the desired favour; in fact, she recovered completely from her illness within three days.

(ii) Maria Cachia, from a village in Gozo, was so gravely ill from puerperal fever that it was decided to give her the Last Sacraments. Her mother made a vow to the Virgin Mary and annointed the patient on the forehead and breasts with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp of Ta Pinu church. Maria fell into a calm sleep. Our Lady appeared to her in a vision, touched her on the parts smeared with the oil and healed her. On waking she was "happy and smiling and left her bed completely cured".

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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(iii) Giovanna Debrincat had been suffering from depression with religious scruples for eight months. Her symptoms became acute one day in February with extreme anxiety, agitation, and insomnia. This phase lasted for four consecutive days and nights in spite of the efforts of the doctor and a priest to reassure her and placate her. Finally her relatives annointed her with the sanctuary oil and appealed to the Blessed Virgin to cure her. The patient immediately became tranquil and had a peaceful sleep. When she woke up, all her symptoms had disappeared (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1890).

532 172 782 [171]

NEOLITHIC VOTIVE OFFERINGS

The custom of offering 'ex-votos' to the deity for favours received is not limited to the Maltese Islands and goes back to very remote times. The neolithic 'ex-votos' of Malta are made of clay and limestone, and measure from 1¼ to 3¼ inches in height. No less than fifteen of them, consisting of the following anatomical forms, have been found:

(i) Faces: 2.
(ii) Hand: 1.
(iii) Female torsos with large abdomen, pendulous breasts, and prominent genitalia: 4.
(iv) Kneeling female (?) torso with arms folded on breast: 2.
(v) Fragment of female statuette consisting of lower abdomen, both thighs, and right leg: 1.
(vi) Female body cut short in the neck and upper parts of the thighs; the left arm is bent on the nape of the neck and the right upper limb points to the genitalia which are very clearly shown. The abdomen and breasts are very full and a swelling fills the left groin while pieces of white shells are stuck in the armpits, groins, umbilicus, mons veneris, and other parts.
(vii) Female pelvis with upper parts of thighs and sexual triangle: 2.
(viii) Legs: 2 (Zammit & Singer 1924, p. 67).

17 782 [997]

The Roman occupation of Malta (218 B.C.–A.D. 397) is represented by one solitary 'ex-voto' consisting of a clay model of the lateral view of a leg and foot. It was found quite recently with other Roman objects in the north-west part of the island (Plate 1, Fig. 2). The inhabitants of the Maltese Islands were converted to Christianity by St Paul in A.D. 60. No more 'ex-votos' can be traced for many hundreds of years until they reappear in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Catholic Church. The interruption in the time-sequence and the change of religious beliefs do not, however, prevent us from perceiving that they have a common purpose and that the 'ex-votos' of Stone Age and Roman times foreshadow the similar ones of later years. Indeed the same ideational process links the ancient ones with those of our own times.

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Anatomical 'ex-votos' are still preserved in many of the Catholic churches of Malta and Gozo and in several wayside shrines in the countryside and in niches in the towns. They are either figures of the complete human body or of parts of it. The former consist of the front view of babies with the trunk and limbs swathed in bands like a mummy; and of side views of men and women in a kneeling posture with their hands joined in prayer over their breasts or else holding a symbolical heart. The men are turned towards the left and the women look towards the right. The models representing parts of the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THE KUCCIJA

Among the peculiar customs which still exist in Malta, the *kuccija* may perhaps rank first.

The *kuccija* is an elaborate entertainment given by the parents on the first anniversary of their children's birth.

The company of relations and friends having assembled, the child is brought in and if it be a boy he is presented with a basket or tray containing corn, sweetmeats, coins, an inkstand, a candle, a rosary, a book, a sword, and other toys—if the baby is a girl, needles, silks and ribbands supply the place of the sword and inkstand.

The choice the baby makes on this occasion will, according to Maltese notions, give a just idea of his future disposition and the profession which he will follow. Should he choose the corn

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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852 it is a sign of a liberal character—if he
• [787] picks out the inkstand it points towards
[828] inclination for trade or the bar—if he takes the book, the rosary or the candle the assumption is that he intends to dedicate his life to the service of the church.

[574] When the baby makes his or her selection, the guests are treated with refreshments, and they all drink the health and future prospects of the small individual in question.

FUNERALS

764 On the death of a Maltese, two or
767 three women called *Neuuieha*, hired for
[533] the occasion, and attired in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house of the deceased singing in a low and dismal voice, some appropriate deathsong. These women cut away

?: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THE GHOST OF THE HOUSE

776 777 825 Some of our people believe in what they call *Il Hâres*—and some of our country-folk still say that this *hâres* exists in the shape af an old black serpent which guards the house and bestows riches and good luck on the children born in that house.

It is held extremely unlucky to kill the old black serpent, as after its death great misfortunes will befall the members of the family.

GOOD LUCK

•787 823 [779] Many believe in their fortune or luck (especially maidens) according to the figures formed by melted lead.

On the Feast of St. John—24th of June—some lead is melted and immediately poured into a vessel containing

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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water, and according to the figure or shape it assumes when it solidifies so will be the fortune of the person who tries the experiment. If the lead becomes bright the maiden is to get a handsome young man for her husband, and lead a happy life with him; if it turns out black the husband will be ugly and the maiden may expect to lead a miserable existence. (*) 787 823

THE BATH

On Easter Sunday as soon as the *Gloria* is sung in the Churches, mothers dip their babies into a bath, in which 755 824

(*) A similar practice is kept up in Denmark, where young women melt lead on New Year's Eve, and after pouring it into water observed in the following morning what form it has assumed. If it resembles a pair of scissors, they will inevitably marry tailors; if a hammer their husbands will be smiths, and so on. [171]

T. Dyer *Domestic Folklore.*

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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THE ITCHING OF THE EYE

787 826 [177] The itching of the eye is considered as an unlucky omen. Grose, celebrated antiquarian, who collected together so many of the superstitions prevalent in his day, says: "When the right eye itches the party affected will shortly cry."

THE ITCHING OF THE HAND

Among other omens we are told that the itching of the hands signifies that they will shortly receive money.

HOWLING OF DOGS

825 763 A superstitious opinion vulgarly prevails in Malta that the howling of a dog in a neighbourhood is the presage of death to any that are sick in it.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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The howling of the dog is ascribed by some to its keen sense of the odour of approaching dissolution. 825 763

This superstition which, while not confined to our Island, appears to have been almost as well known in ancient times as at the present day. 825 763 171

Dr. Nathaniel Home, in his "Daemonologie" page 60, says: "If dogs howl in the night near a house where somebody is sick, it is a sign of death."

Capitolinus tells us: that the dogs by their howlings presaged the death of Maximinus.

TINGLING of the EAR

It is a well known superstition among the Maltese that when the ear tingles they usually say that somebody is talking of them. A tingling of the right ear 787 826

787 826 denotes that a friend is speaking well of one: a tingling of the left, implying the opposite.

[171] The opinion, from whence this proverbial saying is derived, is of great antiquity, being thus mentioned by Pliny: "Moreover is not this an opinion generally received that when our ears do glow and tingle some there be that in our absence do talk of us?"

MEETING OF WOMEN

846 787 777 If two women who have been confined on the same day meet before forty days, one of them will suffer some misfortune either in her own person or in that of her child.

THE MONTH OF MAY

777 May is considered as the month of accidents, and consequently many be-

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

lieve that those who get married during this month will be unfortunate. 777

THE CHURCH ORGAN

Many of our country people want the organ to be played during the mass which is celebrated at their wedding, for they believe that if it is not played the couple will not live long together. To show how much some of our country men believe in this superstition, my friend, Mr. P. P. Castagna, gives the following anecdote in his "Storia ta Malta." 787 585 533

Not long ago a young man went to church at Casal Chircop to get married. On finding, however, that the organist did not turn up to play during the mass, he took off his coat threw it on the floor and went out

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

787 585 533 in a rage, and he could not be persuaded to go back to his wedding before the organist could be found and the organ played for the occasion.

PAYING VISITS

273 574 576 825 If a person goes to pay a visit, for the first time, to a party and is not treated with a sort of drink called *zambur* — made of aniseed—a mouse enters the chest of drawers and gnaws all the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

SENDING TO THE OVEN

252 562 Some people think it a great shame for a woman who sends dishes to be cooked in an oven when her husband is away from the Island.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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NEW YEAR'S SUPERSTITIONS

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A superstitious dread still attaches to some one of the family keeping absent at dinner time on New Year's day. He who doesn't dine with his family on New Year's day is expected to die at the end of that same year.

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He who eats hotch-potch soup on New year's day is to gnaw the ham bones all the rest of the year.

Those who eat cabbages on New year's day groan for a whole year.

OIL, SALT AND WINE

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The spilling of oil is considered a very unlucky omen by the Maltese. The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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PARSLEY

824 763 When one plucks a stem of parsley by the roots and plants it again he may expect to lose one of his parents within the year.

THE HEN

825 763 When a hen crows it is at once destroyed as it foretells the death of some member of the family.

THE HAWKMOTH OR SPHINX

825 787 The appearance of a white hawkmoth betokens the coming home of some one who is abroad. The appearance of a black hawkmoth, however, is a harbinger of sad news.

COMETS

821 787 The appearance of a comet is a sign of an approaching evil.

7; Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

THROWING STONES IN A WELL

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Our ancestors made children believe that if they threw stones in a well or into the sea they had to lift them up some day with their eyelashes.

THIRTEEN AT TABLE

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Sitting down thirteen to dinner is considered very unlucky.

The notion is that one of the thirteen will die within the next twenty four hours. The origin popularly assigned to this widespread superstition is the fact that thirteen was the number at the Last Supper, Judas being the thirteenth.

SNEEZING

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The custom of saying "Evviva" or "Sahha" to one who happens to sneeze

827 prevails in Malta as in other parts of the world. (*)

DREAMS

• 787 There is also a popular superstition in Malta to give interpretation to certain dreams.

The Maltese say that to dream of

[777] (a) fish betokens good luck

(b) the sea foreshews a great trouble

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[771] (*) Carolus Sigonius in his Hist. of Italy would deduce this custom from a pestilence that happened in the time of Gregory the Great (about the year 750) that proved mortal to such as sneezed.

In Brand's "Popular Antiquities" we read that the custom of saluting a person who sneezed was accounted very ancient, even in the time of Aristotle, who in his Problems has endeavoured to account for it, but knew nothing of its origin. According to him, the first men prepossessed with the ideas concerning the head as the principal seat of the soul, carried their respect to sternutation, as the most manifest and the most sensible operation of the head. Hence those several forms of compliments used on similar occasions amongst Greeks and Romans: *Long may you live, May you enjoy health.*

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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(c) corn portends bitter crying through a misfortune

(d) lentils signifies hunger.

COMMON AILMENTS

At the present day, in spite of the "march of intellect" most of the ordinary ailments of every day life have still, what are popularly termed in folk medicine, their "charm remedies" consisting in very quaint recipes which from time immemorial, have been handed down from parent to child.

The following are the complaints to which more or less eccentric remedies have always been applied.

Bleeding of the nose—A curious remedy for the bleeding of the nose is to place a key on the person's back. The key is resorted to as a charm in

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
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consists in cutting open a live rabbit and applying it with the still warm entrails on the stomach of the patient. 755 [825]

Piles—Carrying about a dried fig in one's pocket is considered a good specific for this complaint. [824]

Rheumatism—Amateurs of the healing art advised the sufferer to carry about a dried fish in his pocket as a charm for its cure. [825]

Sty—To prevent or cure this disorder it is customary for the patient to throw over his shoulders seven grains of barley in a well. [824]

The superstitiously inclined say that a sty forebodes the inheritance of some riches. [787]

Beside the omens and superstitions briefly described in the preceding pages 128

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it the Birthday of the Solar Disc; but Christ is the Sun of Righteousness' " (S. HEATH, *Romance of Symbolism*).[1]

We cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, connect the vampire *Gaugau* with Christianity; but with Mithra the affair becomes quite different. It is not difficult to connect a child born on the eve of the Birth-feast of the bloodthirsty Mithra with something more terrible than "ghostly pranks." It is comforting to hear that the vampire *Gaugau* is now capable of nothing worse than "frightening people with his groanings!"

There was a time before the dread broom of "Progress" began to sweep all peasant customs—good as well as bad—before it, when the newly-delivered mother kept carefully to her house during forty days for fear of meeting another mother who had been confined on the same day. It was believed that of two such women meeting within forty days of their confinement, one would suffer a great misfortune. Two possible reasons for this quaint prohibition are apparent. It was either some remnant of a primitive, levitical period of purification or a means of ensuring that the mother wasted no time gossiping at the doorway or in the market place, to the neglect of her young family.

GROWING UP

With the child's first birthday comes the *'uccija*, or "choosing." A tray or basket is filled with an assortment of articles representing trades and professions—a book, a rosary, a candle, an inkstand, a sword—whichever the baby first picks up will indicate its bent in life. This simple means of divination is widespread, and little need be said of it except that some grains of corn are sometimes introduced as a symbol of generosity, suggesting that at one time the *'uccija* decided

[1] H. BAYLEY, *The Lost Language of Symbolism.*

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
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not the trade the child was to follow, but the deity whose particular care the child should be. Corn, sacred to Ceres the Earth-Mother, alone remains.

It will not, unfortunately, be long before the little Maltese makes the acquaintance of the Bogey-man. He is called *Babau*, and differs very little from the English bogey-man. He is black, and lurks in corners, cupboards, behind trees, and in ill-lit streets. Sometimes he will assume the shape of an ox, a ram, or a homely donkey. In Malta he has one virtue. He prefers to haunt those whose possessions have been unfairly come by. If Grez and Zeppu go in fear of *Babau* they have in the *Hares* a friend and protector.

Il Hares—for thus he, or it, is always referred to—takes many forms and performs a variety of tasks. It is possible that *Hares* is the generic name for several spirits, some good, some evil; but the children's *Hares* is our old friend Puck, or Robin Goodfellow. He appears to good children in the form of a little black dwarf, and taking them by the hand leads them off to play with him in some hidden world of his own where fair gardens, luscious sweetmeats, and marvellous toys abound. Only one condition attaches to these secret visits: the *Hares* must never be betrayed to parents or grown-ups. Should his visits be discussed with adults the gates of his magic world are for ever shut upon the garrulous child. I know a grown woman, sensible and devout, who tells of meeting the little black *Hares* frequently when she was a child. She firmly believes in him.

For the adult the *Hares* is a more fearsome creature. Some say that every household has its own particular guardian spirit, sometimes materialized as a black snake. The snake must be treated with respect. If it is injured, calamity will overtake the house and all who dwell in it. This snake would seem to be African in origin. The Bantu races, notably the Zulus, believe that their guardian spirits take upon them the body of a black snake.

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'He is January's own brother, bless him,' said the poor man. 'Quantities of rain and everyone satisfied, for February fills up all and brings riches to the peasant's house. In the month of February all mistakes are discovered. In February sow, water, and tend the small-leaved basil.'

'What a lot you know!' they all cried.

'Friend,' said March, 'what about March?'

'Days long and beautiful,' answered the peasant. 'The cold braces you like iron, and a little wind is always desirable.'

The poor man answered in this way each question of the rest of the months, letting his tongue wag in their honour, praising each one up to the skies."

The merchant, in reply to the same set of questions, complains bitterly about each month. The peasant is given a magic cloth of the sort used to cover bread, which provides him and his family with food and drink in plenty. The rich merchant receives a stick which beats him and his wife unmercifully every time it is addressed.

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Apart from the expected, usual characters of the twelve months, there is a method whereby the year's weather may be foretold. The twelve days preceding Christmas Eve are known as "presages." Each day foretells the weather of its corresponding month during the forthcoming year. Here, again, is seen the shadow of Mithra—the "Great Fecundator"—no period could be more ominous than the sacred twelve days preceding his feast.

FAITH

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Where knowledge fails or some error in complying with the traditional rules is made, Faith steps in. A farmer will send for the village priest to bless his fields when he has sown

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at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy house.

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl.

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin.

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose, is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window. A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make a good wife and mother.

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,